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Immigrants' emotional identification with the host society

The example of Turkish parents' naming practices in Germany

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ABSTRACT The naming practices of immigrants are studied as an example of their emotional identification with the host society and with the society of origin. Using data from the project 'Preschool Education and Educational Careers among Migrant Children', the article analyses if the first name chosen for their child by Turkish parents in Germany is a name that is common only in Turkey (emotional separation), only in Germany (emotional assimilation) or in both countries (emotional integration). Most of the parents choose a Turkish name for their child, but girls are more frequently given names that are common in both cultures than are boys, while German names are only rarely chosen. Intermarriage strongly decreases the probability for separation in naming and especially increases the probability for the integration option, while the presence of a parent with German citizenship enhances assimilation more strongly than it does integration. Families who are more traditional and religious tend to choose a Turkish name. The results of the choice of first name are compared to those of analogous analyses of the respondents' identity.

KEYWORDS assimilation ● emotional identification ● first name choice ● immigrant ● integration

INTRODUCTION

The integration of immigrants in the host society has been discussed in the sociological literature for several decades and constitutes a main research field of migration sociology in general. It has been observed that integration or assimilation does not always take place for all immigrant groups in

all countries – sometimes not even by the third or a later generation. Different aspects of integration have been distinguished: a structural, a cultural, a social and an emotional dimension of integration (see Esser, 2006: 8). Although these aspects are probably (at least partly) mutually dependent, it is often assumed that the immigrants' emotional identification with the host society is the last step in the integration process (see Nauck, 2001). Immigrants' emotional identification has often been regarded as being less important than the other aspects of integration, since the structural dimension of placement in the educational system and in the labour market especially is seen as crucial to understanding ethnic inequality. Emotional identification, on the other hand, seems to be restricted to private feelings and to mere symbolic actions without any 'real' consequences with respect to group inequality. Rather 'only' the individual psychological well-being is affected by such feelings. Diversity on the dimension of emotional identification is often welcomed, since, in this respect, pluralism without inequality seems possible. The reason is that emotional aspects of integration refer to characteristics that are evaluated only horizontally (like different cultural tastes) rather than vertically (such as professional prestige). But this assumption does not remain unchallenged. Recently, even economists have addressed the topic of immigrants' emotional identification and explored its consequences for labour market outcomes (e.g. Nekby and Rödin, 2007).

The emotional integration of immigrants has mostly been studied in terms of ethnic identity. Usually, ethnic identity is measured by means of items on immigrants' sense of belonging, feelings and attitudes towards their own ethnic group (see Phinney, 1990, 1992; Roberts et al., 1999). This ethnic (or minority) identity is contrasted to the national (or majority) identity, which refers to the corresponding feelings and attitudes towards the host society. Thus, identity is conceptualized in a two-dimensional framework with four possible combinations (Berry, 1997): *integration* refers to a strong ethnic, but also to a strong national identity; *assimilation* means a strong national but only a weak ethnic identity, while the opposite combination is termed *separation*, a strong ethnic but a weak national identity; lastly, *marginalization* implies that both identities are weak. Much of the research about immigrants' ethnic identity stems from cross-cultural psychology. Taking the identity theory of Tajfel as a point of departure, the formation of an ethnic identity and its consequences for various psychological outcomes (like an individual's well-being or self-esteem) are examined from this research perspective. Studies using identity as a measure of the immigrants' emotional identification are limited by the fact that they have to rely on the respondents' self-reported evaluations. As with other attitudes and beliefs, it is not clear how strongly these self-reported evaluations are related to real behaviour. There might also be some over-reporting of having an integrated identity since this alternative might seem

most socially desirable. Thus, it is advisable to study the emotional identification of immigrants not only in terms of their identity, but also to use a more concrete behavioural indicator. A good indicator in this respect could be the naming practices of immigrant parents.

The selection of a first name for a child is an important cultural decision for immigrant parents (Sue and Telles, 2007). First names are markers not only of one's personal, but also of one's social identity (Gerhards and Hans, 2006). It can be argued that 'for immigrants and their descendants, first names can be a powerful sociological indicator of sociocultural assimilation in that they can be used to quantify the competing influences of two cultures' (Sue and Telles, 2007: 1384). Lee and Ramakrishnan (2002) state that immigrants with an ethnic first name 'bear a distinct social label that results in a meaningful different set of social encounters, self-image, and ethnic consciousness' (Lee and Ramakrishnan, 2002: 6). Naming is an especially useful indicator of immigrants' emotional identification because everyone is given a first name and names can be quantified on a continuum from ethnic to non-ethnic (Sue and Telles, 2007: 1387). A child's first name signifies the identity the parents want for their child. This choice does not require major parental investment and virtually no preconditions must be met: immigrant parents are free to choose a native first name for their child even though they might not speak the language of the receiving country and have no contacts with the native population. On the other hand, more assimilated parents still have the possibility of choosing an ethnic name for their child, even though they may have lost the language fluency or cultural knowledge of their ethnic ancestors (Sue and Telles, 2007: 1387). In contrast to other forms of assimilation or integration that require higher investments (e.g. learning a language), first names are available freely to all parents and are not associated with any material costs. Therefore, the selection of a first name for a child expresses the 'pure preferences' of the parents (Gerhards and Hans, 2006). Gerhards and Hans (2006: 4–5) argue that giving a child a first name that is common in the native population represents a *voluntary* and *desired* identification with the host society on the part of immigrants. But in contrast to other indicators of identification, naming practices measure real behaviours, not only attitudes or intentions. Therefore, first name selections are more concrete and might be better indicators of immigrants' emotional identification. It should also be noted that although the act of naming itself involves no cost for the parents, the naming has long-term consequences for the child. Studies in the US have shown that people with a typical 'black name' face discrimination in both the labour (Bertrand and Mullainathan, 2004) and housing markets (Carpusor and Loges, 2006). Thus, naming really does represent a *relevant* decision by immigrant parents that has serious consequences.

This article examines first name choices of Turkish immigrants in Germany. I analyse whether parents prefer a Turkish name for their child,

a German name, or a name that is common in both cultures. These choices represent respectively a separated, an assimilated, or an integrated emotional identification. The data for the empirical analyses are part of the project 'Preschool Education and Educational Careers among Migrant Children', in which 625 Turkish families living in southwest Germany were surveyed in 2007. The immigrants' choice of a first name is compared to their choice of identity, which is the 'classical' indicator of their emotional identification. Results are summarized and discussed in the last section.

THE EMOTIONAL IDENTIFICATION OF IMMIGRANTS

The acculturation of immigrants: concepts and dimensions

One of the most frequently used terms in the description of immigrants' inclusion (or exclusion) in the host society is Berry's concept of *acculturation strategies* (Berry, 1991, 1997; Berry et al., 1986). Throughout this article, only the concept of *individual acculturation* is addressed (which Berry names 'psychological acculturation'), which refers to individual changes in attitudes, values, behaviours and cultural identity as a result of intercultural contact. This is differentiated from acculturation on a group level, which is not further addressed here. In plural societies with various cultural groups, the individuals have to deal with the issue of acculturation (Berry, 1997: 9–12). This basic idea of Berry is used in a broader sense here to examine the question of the inclusion or exclusion of immigrants in general. On the one hand, there is the question of 'cultural maintenance', which means that the immigrants have to evaluate how important an ethnic identity and ethnic characteristics are to them. On the other hand, the value of being included in the larger society has to be evaluated. When these two basic questions are considered simultaneously, four possible strategies emerge (see Table 1): *integration* (inclusion in both the host society and in the ethnic group), *assimilation* (inclusion in the host society, but not in the ethnic group), *separation* (inclusion in the ethnic group, but not in the host society) and *marginalization* (inclusion in neither the ethnic group nor the host society). These principal strategies can be applied in different domains (see Esser, 2006: 8). However, in this article only the emotional dimension is addressed in more detail.

The application of this acculturation scheme to immigrant parents' naming practices is quite straightforward (see Table 1). Parents who choose a first name for their child that is common in the native population of the host society but uncommon in the society of origin (native name) are regarded as emotionally assimilated. A first name that is common only in the society of origin, but not in the host society (ethnic name) implies

Table 1 Berry's acculturation strategies and their application to naming practices

		Inclusion into the host society?/ Is the first name common in the host society?	
		No	*Yes*
Inclusion into the ethnic group?/ Is the first name common in the society of origin?	No	*Marginalization/* Unusual name	*Assimilation/* Native name
	Yes	*Separation/* Ethnic name	*Integration/* Name common in both cultures

Source: Berry (1997: 10); own modifications and extensions.

emotional separation, while a first name that is common in both cultures indicates emotional integration. The case of 'marginalization' in naming is assumed to be very rare; in this case a name would be chosen that is neither common in the host society nor in the society of origin (e.g. a very idiosyncratic or even a self-invented name, or a name that is common only in other countries to which the parents have some other affiliation).

Determinants of immigrants' identity

In most studies, emotional identification is operationalized by means of the individual's identity. Usually this is measured by asking the respondents about their sense of belonging, their feelings and attitudes towards the culture of their ethnic group and with regard to the culture of the host society. In some studies, identity is modelled as a linear process, where immigrants either choose to identify with the culture of the host society or with the culture of their ethnic group (opposing identities). Other studies use the two-dimensional conceptualization that has been introduced in the last section (see Table 1). But despite the theoretical two-dimensionality of the identity variable, with the four possible outcomes: integration, assimilation, separation and marginalization, the empirical analyses are mostly conducted in a way that does not adequately model this identity choice.

One of the most comprehensive studies about immigrants' identity has been conducted in Canada by Walters et al. (2007), using the Ethnic Diversity Survey (EDS). The dependent variable in this study is immigrants' self-reported ethnic identification: immigrants who report only 'Canadian' as their ethnicity are classified as 'assimilated', while immigrants who report 'Canadian' as well as another ethnic group are classified as 'integrated', and

the rest as 'neither assimilated nor integrated' (thus, the categories 'separation' and 'marginalization' are combined here). A multinomial logistic regression of the identity type reveals that none of the variables relating to economic success (employment status, occupation, earnings) is statistically significant. Nor do the respondent's sex, education or marital status show any significant effect on the identity type. A significant effect can be found for the time that has elapsed since migration: a longer time since migration enhances the probability of an assimilated identity, whereas it decreases the probability of an integrated or separated/marginalized identity. Although use of a non-official language at home significantly decreases the probability of having an assimilated identity in comparison to the 'rest' category, the probability of an integrated identity is not affected by whichever language is used. A very strong relationship to voting behaviour can be found: in particular, the ineligibility to vote in the past election strongly increases the probability of a separated/marginalized identity. The experience of discrimination significantly reduces the probability of an assimilated identity, as opposed to the probability of a separated/marginalized identity. Finally, the proportion of ethnic friends in the respondent's network has a clear impact on that individual's identity: the lower the proportion of ethnic friends, the lower is the probability of a separated/marginalized identity and the higher is the probability of an assimilated identity, while the probability of an integrated identity is not affected. The advantages of this study are its large number of cases and many control variables. The use of a multinomial logit model allows a study of the differential effects of the independent variables on the different identity outcomes. A limitation of this study (as well as of most other studies) is the use of cross-sectional data, which do not allow conclusions about the causality of the relationships.

Two of the independent variables in the study by Walters et al. are also often examined in the psychological research on immigrants' identity: contact with the native population and with members of one's own ethnic group, and the immigrants' language use. One of the most robust findings is that the degree of in-group and out-group interaction has a strong impact on identity formation. Phinney et al. (2001) report that the frequency of social interaction with peers from their own ethnic group has a strong positive influence on the ethnic identity of adolescents in immigrant families in Los Angeles. In a study of adolescents with a Russian migration background in Finland, Jasinskaja-Lahti and Liebkind (1998) show that the frequency of contact with native Finns in different domains positively influences their degree of Finnish identity, while the contact with Russian peers has a significant positive effect on their Russian identity. Another frequently studied determinant of immigrants' identity is their language proficiency and use. Phinney et al. (2001) report a significant positive influence of ethnic language proficiency on the ethnic identity. In contrast to this result, in the study by Vedder (2005) of Turkish and Surinamese youth in

the Netherlands, no significant correlation between ethnic language proficiency and ethnic identity could be found. Similarly, in the study by Jasinskaja-Lahti and Liebkind (1998), the immigrants' proficiency in neither the Russian nor Finnish language is significantly related to their identity. However, the frequency of language use proved to be a strong determinant of their identity: more frequent usage of Finnish has a strong positive effect on the Finnish identity, while more frequent use of Russian positively influences the degree of Russian identity.

The economic literature has also recently addressed the topic of immigrants' identity. For example, Nekby and Rödin (2007) use Swedish data to analyse the determinants of immigrants' identity. The authors estimate the strength of minority identity and majority identity separately, using the other identity measure as an independent variable. They find that the degree of identification with the Swedish culture has no significant effect on the strength of the ethnic identity, while the ethnic identity has a significant non-linear negative effect on the majority identity (individuals who have a medium degree of ethnic identity have the lowest degree of majority identity). The authors also find that women are more likely than men to have a strong ethnic and national identity. The marital status and number of children have no significant effect on either identity variable. The educational effect does not show a consistent pattern: men with some university education have the highest level of minority identity, while this is true for women with upper-secondary education. There is no significant effect of education on the strength of majority identity. The current and past labour market status is not significantly related to the respondents' identity, but positive expectations of future employability significantly enhance the strength of majority identity. Finally, proficiency in the Swedish language has a significant positive impact on the degree of majority identity.

With data from the German Socioeconomic Panel (GSOEP), Zimmermann et al. (2006) estimated the effects of some pre- and postmigration characteristics on the national and ethnic identity of first-generation immigrants in Germany. They find that a higher level of education in the home country significantly decreases the majority identity, but otherwise the effects of education are rather inconsistent and mostly insignificant. There are some differences between ethnic and religious groups. The age at migration has a significant positive effect on the ethnic identity of women; in all other cases it is not significant. More years since migration significantly enhances the majority identity of women, but not that of men. Also the effect of marriage on males and females is different: being married significantly reduces the strength of majority identity for women (but not for men), while it significantly enhances the strength of minority identity for men (but this effect is non-significant for women). In another study, Zimmermann et al. (2007) try to account for the two-dimensionality of the identity variable. However, the focus of their study centres on the question

of whether or not immigrants deviate from a linear model of identity (linear meaning the option either 'separation' or 'assimilation'). Taking a separated identity as an assumed starting point for all immigrants, they study whether immigrants develop a marginalized identity, an identity that follows the linear model (either separated or assimilated), or an integrated identity. The authors assume an ordinal structure of these categories (implying that integration is 'higher' or 'better' than either assimilation or separation). Because assimilation and separation are collapsed into one category, the results are hard to interpret. But the authors also use binary probit analyses for the categories integration and marginalization (compared to all other identity types). More years since migration significantly increases the probability of having an integrated identity rather than any other form of identity. A younger age at migration also enhances the probability of an integrated identity, but this effect is significant only for female respondents. The effect of education is again rather inconsistent. Muslims are significantly less likely to have an integrated identity than the reference group of other non-Christian and non-religious persons.

It has to be concluded that the previous research literature cannot answer the question of the main determinants of immigrants' identity in very much detail and the results are often inconsistent. Mostly, the two-dimensional dependent variable has not been treated adequately in empirical analyses to answer the question of what leads to an integrated, assimilated, separated or marginalized identity. So far, it seems that structural variables (like education or occupation) do not play a major role in explaining immigrants' identity. A longer time since migration seems to be related to the adoption of the national identity – but it remains unclear whether this leads to an assimilated or to an integrated identity. The role of language proficiency is also not clear, but more frequent use of the host language seems to enhance the national identity. However, this indicator also gives rise to the question of the direction of causality. One of the clearest results shows that the frequency of social contacts with the native population and with members of one's own ethnic group is related to the immigrants' identity; but here again, the direction of causality remains open.

Determinants of first name choices

Only a few studies so far have dealt with the question of immigrant parents' naming practices. But there are various studies that have examined parents' naming preferences in general and especially trends over time. Some of the first studies dealt with the question of naming children after relatives (e.g. Rossi, 1965). It was found that boys and first-born children are more likely to be named after kin than are girls and later-born children. Also the massive shift away from kin naming over time was studied (Smith, 1985).

Trends in naming reflect social processes. In Germany, Gerhards and his colleagues have studied processes like individualization, secularization and the loss of significance of kin relationships in naming patterns (Gerhards, 2003; Gerhards and Hackenbroch, 1997). Social differences in name choices have also been detected. Parents with different educational and occupational qualification levels differ in their naming preferences (Gerhards, 2003; Gerhards and Hackenbroch, 1997; Lieberson, 2000; Lieberson and Bell, 1992). All these studies show that the parental choice of a first name for their child is far from being a 'random' or a purely idiosyncratic decision. Parents' 'taste for a name' is subject to various cultural and social influences, although the parents might hardly be aware of these at the moment of decision-making.

The analysis of ethnic differences in naming practices started quite early in the case of naming differences between African-Americans and whites in the US (e.g. Eagleson and Clifford, 1945). The first name choices of African-Americans and whites were not very different until the 1960s, but after that time the naming pattern changed strongly, with African-Americans increasingly adopting distinctively 'black names' (Fryer and Levitt, 2004; Lieberson and Mikelson, 1995). This pattern appears to be most consistent with the rise of the Black Power movement. Fryer and Levitt (2004) also found out that variables indicating a lower socioeconomic status are associated with African-American parents' choice of a 'black name'. This link between lower socioeconomic status and the choice of 'black names' increased over the time period between 1960 and 2000.

Studies of immigrant parents' naming practices are rare. Lieberson (2000) reports a strong thrust towards assimilation among most immigrant groups in the US. But he points out that 'earlier tastes' still work and are reflected in 'new tastes' of immigrants (e.g. the strong preference of Mexican-Americans for an *a*-ending sound in girls' names; see Lieberson, 2000: 190). Lieberson mentions the use of the English form of names that are also common in the society of origin as one common shift towards assimilation. But this naming pattern could also be interpreted as a form of integration, since the cultural link to one's own ethnic group is not abandoned. Lieberson also finds differences between immigrant groups: in white immigrant groups, the prominent names for children overlap substantively with those favoured by native whites. In contrast, the name choice of Mexican-American immigrants is very dissimilar to that of Anglo-Americans; boys, especially, are given traditional names. But the overlap with Anglo-American names is much higher for US-born Latinos than for foreign-born Latinos, which the author interprets as a sign of assimilation over generations.

This generation effect is also found by Sue and Telles (2007). The authors study the degree of 'Spanishness' of first names that children of Latino parents were given in Los Angeles in 1995. To measure the 'Spanishness' of

a first name, they created an ordered variable ranging from 1 (English name that is not translatable into Spanish) to 5 (Spanish name that is not translatable into English). A comparison of the top 500 names popular among Latino immigrants, US-born Latinos and non-Latinos shows clear differences between these three groups in the expected way: immigrant Latinos give their children the most-Spanish names, followed by US-born Latinos, who still choose more-Spanish names than do non-Latinos. There are also remarkable differences according to the child's sex: daughters are less likely to receive Spanish names than are boys (in both groups of Latinos). Sue and Telles (2007) also analyse the determinants of the 'Spanishness' of children's names by using ordered logistic regressions, separated according to the sex of the child. They find significant effects for the parents' birthplace/ethnicity categories, which confirm the descriptive results: the most-Spanish name is given to the child when both parents are foreign-born Latinos. The degree of Spanishness lessens, the closer the birthplace/ethnicity combination is to that of non-Latinos. These results also show the strong influence of intermarriage. A significant negative effect of the mother's education is found, as well as a significant negative effect of the educational difference between the father's and the mother's education (meaning that children receive less-Spanish names if the father's level of education is higher than the mother's). The proportion of Latinos in the neighbourhood significantly increases the Spanishness of boys' names, but has no effect on girls' names.

In the study by Gerhards and Hans (2006), the assimilation in naming practices of three immigrant groups in Germany is analysed using GSOEP data. The authors categorize the children's first names on the basis of the question of whether the name is common in Germany and/or in the country of origin. Four categories are differentiated: (1) first names that are common only in Germany, but not in the country of origin; (2) first names that are common in both countries; (3) first names that are common in the country of origin, but do exist in German in a similar phonetic; and (4) first names that are common in the country of origin, but not in Germany. There are clear differences between the immigrant groups in their naming practices: more than 90 percent of the Turkish parents choose a name for their child that is common only in their home country, but not in Germany. This is true for only 46 percent of the parents from ex-Yugoslavia and for 37 percent of the parents from southern Europe (Spain, Italy and Portugal). From the first names of the parents it is clear that there are only a few names that are common (at least in similar forms) in both the Turkish and German cultures, while this pool of shared names is larger for the other two immigrant groups. A logistic regression with the dependent variable 'first name common in Germany' shows that the differences between the immigration groups are no longer significant once the parental religious affiliation is controlled for. Christians have a significantly

higher chance of choosing a name that is common in Germany than do individuals without any religious affiliation, while Muslims have a significantly lower chance. A higher education on the part of both parents enhances the probability of choosing a name common in Germany, while the income of the household has no effect. If the child has German citizenship, the chance is significantly increased that a name that is common in Germany will be chosen.

DATA AND OPERATIONALIZATIONS

The data for the empirical analyses of this article are part of the project 'Preschool Education and Educational Careers among Migrant Children'. German and Turkish families with a three- to four-year-old child were randomly selected based on the data of registration offices in 30 German cities and communities of a local region in southwest Germany. The sampling was done on the basis of the children's and the parents' citizenship (more information about the family members' ethnicity was not available from the registration offices). A family was considered as 'Turkish' if either the child or at least one parent had Turkish citizenship. A letter describing the study was sent to the families (Turkish families received this letter in German and Turkish), after which the families were contacted by interviewers to arrange a date for the interview at their homes (in the form of a computer-assisted personal interview). The interview was conducted with the parent that spends the most time with the child (this was the mother in about 95 percent of the cases). Turkish families were contacted by bilingual interviewers and the parents could choose their preferred language for the interview. Altogether, 1281 families were surveyed in the first half of the year 2007 (approximately half of them were Turkish, the other half German). The final classification of the children's ethnicity was made after the interview. Children are defined as having a 'Turkish migration background' if at least one of their parents or grandparents was born in Turkey. This applied to 625 children and only this subsample is used in this article.

The first name of the three- to four-year-old target child in each family is known from the data of the registration offices. But the first names of all siblings were also recorded during the interview. To increase the number of cases in the empirical analyses, every child in a family with a Turkish migration background is used as one case and family-clustering is controlled for. Only children born in Germany are included in this dataset. The children's first names have been categorized by Turkish and German native speakers in a way similar to that used in the study by Gerhards and Hans (2006). The leading question was whether a name is common in Germany and/or in

Turkey (irrespective of its linguistic origin) and four categories are differentiated:

1. *Separation*: the first name is common in Turkey, but not in Germany; examples: Büsra, Emre.
2. *Integration*: the first name is common in both Turkey and Germany. In this category all names are included that are either used identically in both societies or exist in similar forms. Because of the small number of cases for this category it is not further differentiated whether the Turkish or the German variant of a name is used; examples: Yasemin/Jasmin, Bünyamin/Benjamin.
3. *Assimilation*: the first name is common in Germany, but not in Turkey; examples: Elisabeth, Tobias.
4. *Marginalization*: the name is neither common in Germany nor in Turkey; examples: Medlin, Sergio.

It is not always easy to decide what counts as a 'common German name', since nowadays first names like Kevin or Michelle would also be regarded as 'common' in Germany. So the same procedure as that used in the study by Gerhards and Hans (2006) was applied: to categorize a name as being a 'common German name', it was hypothetically asked if children with a particular first name would be interpreted as being of foreign origin by their teachers and peers at school on the basis of their first name. If this was the case, the first name was classified as 'not common in Germany'.

The analyses of the parents' first name choices are compared to the analyses of the respondent's identity, since both are assumed to be indicators of the immigrants' emotional identification. For the analyses of the identity, each respondent to the parental interview constitutes one case. The respondents were asked two questions about their sense of belonging to the host country and to the country of origin (adopted from the questions in the GSOEP): (1) 'To what degree do you think of yourself as German?'; (2) 'To what extent do you feel connected with the country of your or your family's origin?' The answer categories are 1 'not at all', 2 'barely', 3 'in some respects', 4 'mostly' and 5 'completely'. The categories 1 and 2 are collapsed into one labelled 'low', the category 3 represents a 'medium' degree of identity and the categories 4 and 5 are combined into the category 'high'.

From the cross-tabulation of these two questions, the four identity types are constructed:

1. *Separation*: respondents who have a low German identity, but a medium or high Turkish identity.
2. *Integration*: respondents who have at least a medium value on both identity questions.

3. *Assimilation*: respondents who have a low Turkish identity, but a medium or high German identity.
4. *Marginalization*: respondents who have a low value on both identity questions.

A major problem for the analyses of the determinants of parents' first name choice for their child is the time lag between the choice situation and the interview. The name choice took place years ago in most cases and the families' situation at that time is mostly unknown. For that reason, the analyses are restricted to variables that can be simply calculated for the time of each child's birth (like the length of time since migration) and to variables that can be assumed to be relatively constant in time. So, the parents' educational level at the time of the interview is used as a proxy for this variable at the time of the name choice. The error here might not be too large since the educational level of adults usually changes only rarely. The parents' citizenship at the time of the interview is taken as a proxy for this variable at the time of the child's birth or at least for a tendency to eventually become naturalized. The parent's mother tongue is also regarded as time-constant, and having German as the mother tongue is used as a proxy for the parent's German proficiency, which is only a very approximate indicator. A dummy variable indicating whether or not the child's mother was wearing a headscarf during the interview is used as a proxy of the general level of religiousness and traditionalism in the family, which is also assumed to be relatively constant in time. This is of course a very problematic operationalization and the results of this indicator should be treated with care. For reasons of comparison, (nearly) the same set of independent variables is also used for the analyses of the respondents' identity. Table 2 gives an overview of the independent variables and the final number of cases (only cases with full information on all model variables). Table A1 in the Appendix shows descriptive statistics of these variables.

RESULTS

Table 3 shows the distribution of Turkish parents' naming practices. The vast majority (82.5 percent) of the Turkish parents have chosen a first name for their child that is common only in Turkey, but not in Germany (ethnic name) and thereby represents a separated emotional identification. About 12.5 percent of the parents have selected a first name that is common in both cultures (integration), and only 4 percent have chosen a name that is common only in Germany (native name, assimilation). As expected, only a few names fall into the marginalization category. These are mainly first names that are common only in other countries (e.g. Italian) and may be

Table 2 Overview of the independent variables

	First name choice	*Identity choice*
Sex	Sex of the child (1: girl, 0: boy)	–[a]
Education (in years)	Highest educational level of both parents	Respondent's educational level
Intermarriage	One parent has a Turkish migration background (meaning that he/she is born in Turkey or at least one of his/her parents are born in Turkey) and one parent has a German family background (meaning that this parent and both of his/her parents are born in Germany)	German spouse: the respondent's spouse as well as both of his/her parents are born in Germany
German citizenship	At least one parent with German citizenship	Respondent with German citizenship
German as mother tongue	At least one parent with German as mother tongue	Respondent with German as mother tongue
Religiousness/traditionalism in the family	Mother is wearing a headscarf during the interview	Mother is wearing a headscarf during the interview
Years since migration	Years since migration at the time of child's birth (mean for both parents)	Years since respondent's migration at the time of the interview
Age at arrival in Germany	Age at arrival in Germany (mean of both parents)	Respondent's age at arrival in Germany
N	1257/1246[b]	577/548[b]

[a] The respondent's sex is not used as independent variable, since only very few fathers are interviewed.
[b] All cases / cases without the marginalization category, which is dropped in later analyses.

Table 3 Distribution of children's first names and respondents' identity (in percentages)

	Children's first names			
Acculturation strategy	*Boys*	*Girls*	*All*	*Respondents' identity*
(1) Separation	87.56	77.20	82.50	60.49
(2) Integration	6.53	18.57	12.41	27.56
(3) Assimilation	4.51	3.91	4.22	6.93
(4) Marginalization	1.40	0.33	0.88	5.03
Total	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00
N	643	614	1257	577

Source: Project 'Preschool Education and Educational Careers among Migrant Children', own calculations.

the result of intermarriages of a Turkish and, for example, an Italian parent. These cases will be dropped in the further analyses. The distribution of the children's first names is similar to the results found by Gerhards and Hans (2006) for Turkish immigrants in the GSOEP data, although there are even more choices of ethnic names in the GSOEP. There are very striking differences in the distribution of boys' and girls' first names. Boys are given ethnic names more often than are girls – the difference is about 10 percentage points. Girls are more frequently given names that are common in both cultures, while there is virtually no gender difference in the choice of native names.

In Table 3, the distribution of the respondents' identity is also reported. Here again, separation constitutes the largest category (60.5 percent). Of the respondents, 27.5 percent are classified as having an integrated identity, while only 7 percent have an assimilated identity. Five percent of the parents score low on both identity questions and therefore fall into the marginalization category. Thus, the principal pattern in the distribution of the two indicators of immigrants' emotional identification is similar. But it is noteworthy that there is more integration and less separation in terms of immigrants' identity than in terms of their naming practices. Thus the naming practice may be a 'harder' indicator of emotional identification with the host society.

The results of multivariate analyses of the parents' name choice are reported in Table 4. The first two columns show the results of logistic regressions with binary dependent variables. In model 1, the choice of a German first name is analysed (name is common in Germany or not). Girls have a 2.5 times higher chance of receiving a name that is common in Germany

than do boys ($e^{0.95} = 2.59$). The parents' educational level has no significant effect on the probability of choosing a German name. Intermarriage has the strongest influence on the naming practice: the odds of a German first name are 3.6 times higher among families with one German parent than among families without a German parent. If at least one parent has German citizenship, the probability of choosing a German name is also significantly increased. Having German as the mother tongue also positively influences the choice of a German name, but this effect is not statistically significant when all other independent variables are controlled for. More religious and traditional values in the family seem to decrease the probability of giving the child a German name, as indicated in the significant negative effect of the headscarf variable. Parents who have been in Germany longer tend to have an increased probability of choosing a German name (but this effect is only marginally significant), while the age of arrival in Germany has no additional effect. In model 2, the choice of a name that is common in Turkey is analysed in an analogous way. There is no significant difference in the probability of being given a Turkish name between boys and girls. The other independent variables work in the opposite direction, as in model 1. Intermarriage strongly decreases the odds of a Turkish name, as does German citizenship. In more traditional and religious families, Turkish first names are more frequently given to the children. The other independent variables do not have a significant effect.

As a next step, the full naming decision is analysed using a multinomial logit model. The three outcomes 'separation' (1), 'integration' (2) and 'assimilation' (3) for the parents' first name choice are considered simultaneously. The results are reported in Table 4, model 3. Column (a) shows the log-odds of choosing a name that is common in both cultures (outcome 2) rather than an ethnic name (outcome 1), while column (b) contrasts the choice of a native name (outcome 3) to the choice of an ethnic name (outcome 1). The third column (c) shows the choice of the option to assimilate (3) rather than to integrate (2) in naming. This third column is redundant, but nevertheless is presented for a better overview of the results. Because the coefficients in multinomial logistic regressions are hard to interpret, the changes in the probabilities for the three outcomes depending on changes of the independent variables are presented in Table 5. Also, the results of Wald tests of the overall significance of the independent variables are reported in the table.

The probability that girls will receive an ethnic name is 12 percentage points lower than for boys if all other independent variables are set at mean. This corresponds exactly to the 12 percentage points higher probability that girls will be given a name that is common in both Germany and Turkey. In contrast to this, the choice of a name that is only used in Germany is not at all influenced by the child's sex. Thus, boys and girls are equally likely (or better said: unlikely) to receive a native name, while parents choose the

Table 4 Determinants of children's first names (results of binary logistic regressions and multinomial logistic regression)

	(1) Binary logit German first name	*(2) Binary logit Turkish first name*	*(3) Multinomial logit*		
			(a) 2 vs 1: T + G vs T	*(b) 3 vs 1: G vs T*	*(c) 3 vs 2: G vs T + G*
Child's sex (girl)	0.95 (0.17)**	0.24 (0.32)	1.25 (0.20)**	0.06 (0.31)	−1.18 (0.35)**
Education (in years)	−0.06 (0.05)	0.08 (0.10)	−0.05 (0.04)	−0.09 (0.10)	−0.05 (0.10)
Intermarriage	1.29 (0.41)**	−1.53 (0.62)*	1.03 (0.44)*	1.91 (0.64)**	0.88 (0.68)
German citizenship	0.59 (0.21)**	−1.82 (0.54)**	0.29 (0.20)	1.85 (0.55)**	1.56 (0.54)**
German as mother tongue	0.50 (0.34)	−0.62 (0.54)	0.44 (0.38)	0.73 (0.53)	0.29 (0.61)
Headscarf	−0.88 (0.23)**	2.25 (1.06)*	−0.64 (0.22)**	−2.34 (1.05)*	−1.70 (1.08)
Years since migration	0.04 (0.02)†	0.01 (0.04)	0.05 (0.02)*	0.00 (0.04)	−0.05 (0.04)
Age at arrival	0.02 (0.02)	−0.03 (0.04)	0.01 (0.02)	0.03 (0.04)	0.02 (0.04)
Constant	−2.70 (0.70)**	3.67 (1.35)**	−3.27 (0.67)**	−3.76 (1.39)**	−0.48 (1.35)
N	1246	1246		1246	
Pseudo-R^2	.1427	.2085		.1509	

Source: Project 'Preschool Education and Educational Careers among Migrant Children', own calculations
Notes: Regression coefficients from binary logistic models (1 + 2) and multinomial logistic model (3) with standard errors in parentheses. The standard errors are adjusted for family clusters.
**$p \leq .01$; *$p \leq .05$; †$p \leq .10$.

Table 5 Changes in predicted probabilities of the naming outcomes and Wald tests for overall significance of the independent variables

	Change in probability for			
Change in the independent variable	*(1) only Turkish*	*(2) Turkish and German*	*(3) only German*	*Wald test Chi² (d.f.)*
Child's sex (girl)[a]	–0.12	0.12	–0.00	38.96 (2)**
Highest level of education (in years)[b]	0.01	–0.01	–0.00	1.46 (2)
Intermarriage (one parent with German background)[a]	–0.18	0.12	0.06	11.57 (2)**
At least one parent with German citizenship[a]	–0.06	0.02	0.04	12.01 (2)**
At least one parent with German as mother tongue[a]	–0.06	0.04	0.01	2.76 (2)
Mother with headscarf[a]	0.08	–0.05	–0.03	13.51 (2)**
Years since migration at the time of child's birth (mean of both parents)[b]	–0.03	0.03	–0.00	6.14 (2)*
Age at arrival in Germany (mean of both parents)[b]	–0.01	0.01	0.00	0.89 (2)

Source: Project 'Preschool Education and Educational Careers among Migrant Children', own calculations.
Notes: Predicted values from model 3, Table 4. All other independent variables are set on mean.
[a] Change of the independent variable from 0 to 1.
[b] Change of the independent variable from half a standard deviation under the mean to half a standard deviation above the mean (±SD/2).
Results of the Wald test: $^{**}p \leq .01$; $^{*}p \leq .05$.

integration option in naming more frequently (and therefore the separation option less frequently) for girls' first names rather than for boys'. This gender difference is illustrated in Figure 1, which also shows the effect of the years that have passed since migration. It can be seen that the probability of a first name that is common only in Germany is very low for both boys and girls and that this is independent of the parents' length of stay in Germany at the time of the child's birth. The time since migration affects only the probability of choosing a name that is common in both societies rather than an ethnic name. Figure 1 also shows that the gender difference in naming becomes larger, the longer the time since migration.

The effect of intermarriage on the choice of a name is quite straightforward. If one parent is German, the probability of the choice of an ethnic

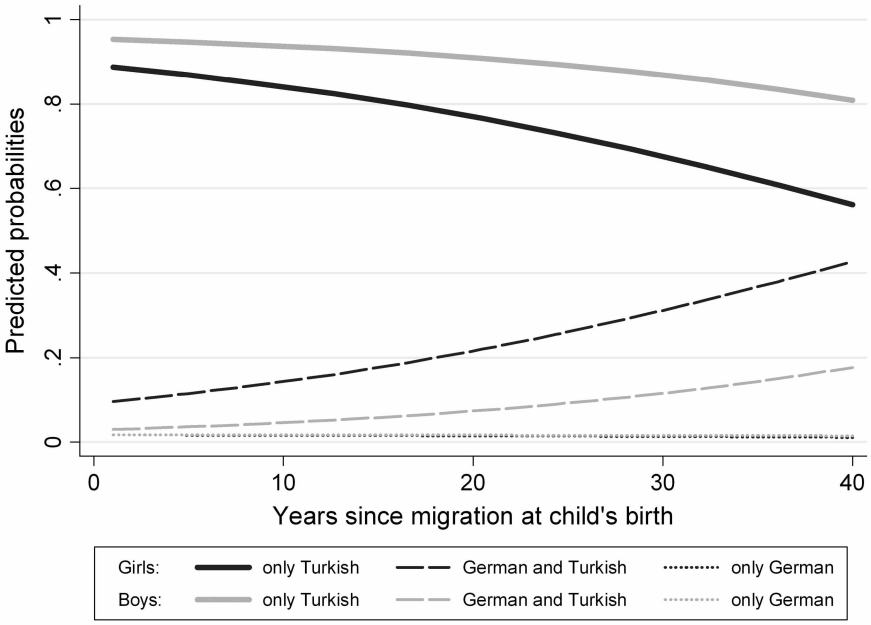

Figure 1 Predicted probabilities of naming outcomes by child's sex and parents' length of stay in Germany at child's birth

Source: Project 'Preschool Education and Educational Careers among Migrant Children', own calculations.

Notes: Predicted values from model 3, Table 4. All other interdependent variables are set on mean.

name is 18 percentage points lower than that in families without a German parent (if all other variables are set at mean). On the other side, the choice of the integration option, and to a lesser extent also the choice of the assimilation option, is enhanced. Holding German citizenship also increases the probability of integration and assimilation in naming, and decreases the probability of separation. But in contrast to the influence of intermarriage, the German citizenship of a parent favours assimilation rather than integration in the name choice. The joint effect of intermarriage and German citizenship is presented in Figure 2. Here it can be seen that the influence of German citizenship on assimilation is especially strong in families with a German parent. More traditional and religious values in the family, as indicated by the mother wearing a headscarf, leads to a higher probability of an ethnic first name and to lower probabilities of either a name that is common in both cultures or a native name. The parents' education, their age at arrival in Germany and having German as a mother tongue do not show any significant effects, as has already been the case in the binary logistic regressions.

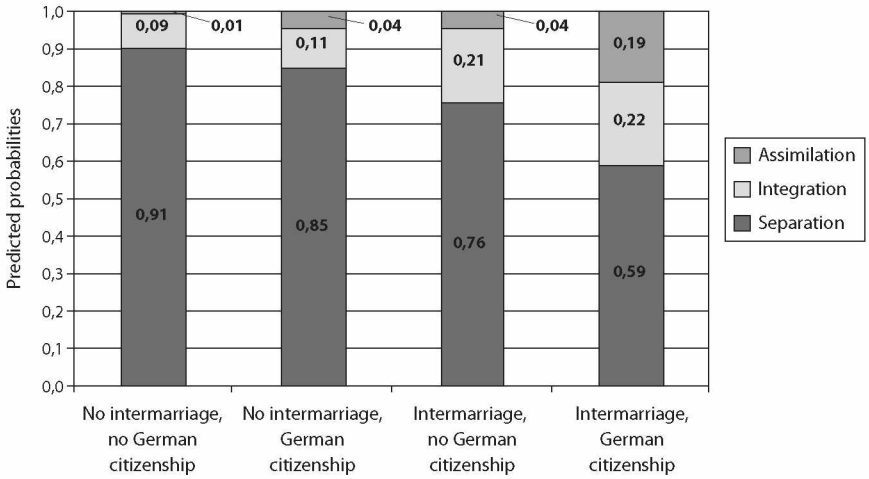

Figure 2 Predicted probabilities of naming outcomes by intermarriage and German Citizenship

Source: Project 'Preschool Education and Educational Careers among Migrant Children', own calculations.

Notes: Predicted values from model 3, Table 4. All other interdependent variables are set on mean.

The same analytical approach is used to examine the parents' identity. The results are presented in Table 6. The first two columns show the results of ordered logistic regressions with the level of German identity (model 1) and Turkish identity (model 2) as dependent variables (on a three-point-scale: low vs medium vs high identity). In these ordered logistic regressions it is assumed that the regression coefficients of the independent variables are identical for the transitions 'low-to-medium' and 'medium-to-high' identity (for a parallel regression assumption, see Long and Freese, 2003: 165–8). Brant tests show that this assumption is not violated in the two regressions (test results not presented here). Model 3 shows the results of a multinomial logistic regression with the three identity types, integration, assimilation and separation, as outcomes. The results are, in principle, similar to those of the naming choice. The strongest predictor of the respondents' identity is having a German spouse. When all other variables are set at mean, the presence of a German spouse reduces the probability of a separated identity by 55 percentage points, while it enhances the probability of an integrated identity by 35 percentage points, and the probability of an assimilated identity by 20 percentage points (table with changes in probabilities not shown). So the effect of intermarriage on identity is much stronger than its effect on the name choice. The only other variable with a

Table 6 Determinants of respondents' identity (results of ordered logistic regressions and multinomial logistic regression)

			(3) Multinomial logit		
	(1) Ordered logit German identity	(2) Ordered logit Turkish identity	(a) 2 vs 1: T + G vs T	(b) 3 vs 1: G vs T	(c) 3 vs 2: G vs T + G
Education (in years)	0.05 (0.04)	0.00 (0.04)	0.03 (0.05)	0.08 (0.07)	0.05 (0.07)
German spouse	1.77 (0.47)**	−1.57 (0.52)**	2.54 (1.11)*	3.37 (1.23)**	0.83 (0.61)
German citizenship	0.69 (0.21)**	−0.89 (0.23)**	0.57 (0.24)*	1.27 (0.42)**	0.70 (0.42)†
German as mother tongue	0.89 (0.49)†	−0.07 (0.54)	0.61 (0.52)	0.66 (0.76)	0.05 (0.67)
Headscarf	−0.47 (0.21)*	0.44 (0.23)*	−0.40 (0.23)†	−0.67 (0.46)	−0.27 (0.47)
Years since migration	0.04 (0.02)†	−0.01 (0.02)	0.03 (0.02)†	0.05 (0.04)	0.01 (0.04)
Age at arrival	−0.01 (0.02)	0.01 (0.02)	−0.02 (0.02)	−0.00 (0.04)	0.01 (0.04)
Cutpoint 1	1.73 (0.70)	−3.06 (0.78)			
Cutpoint 2	3.50 (0.71)	−1.30 (0.78)			
Constant			−1.62 (0.73)*	−4.39 (1.40)**	−2.77 (1.41)*
N	548	548		548	
Pseudo-R^2	.1240	.0843		.1264	

Source: Project 'Preschool Education and Educational Careers among Migrant Children', own calculations
Notes: Regression coefficients from ordered logistic models (1 + 2) and multinomial logistic model (3) with standard errors in parentheses.
Categories of the dependent variables in models 1 and 2: low vs medium vs. high identity.
Categories of the dependent variable in model 3: T (Turkish medium or high, German low) vs T+G (Turkish and German medium or high) vs G (German medium or high, Turkish low).
**$p \leq 0.01$; *$p \leq 0.05$; †$p \leq 0.10$.

significant effect on identity is German citizenship. Again, the effect is similar to the one in the name choice model, but stronger. The effects of the other variables are not statistically significant, but show patterns similar to those in the name choice model.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

In this article, the emotional identification of immigrants is regarded as a two-dimensional concept, using Berry's (1997) schema. As a measure of this emotional identification, an indicator has been proposed that has been only rarely used until now: the naming practices of immigrant parents. With data from the project 'Preschool Education and Educational Careers among Migrant Children', the first name choices of Turkish immigrants in Germany have been analysed. It is shown that most of the parents have chosen a Turkish name for their child. This means that emotional separation is the most frequent type of emotional identification among the Turkish immigrants. This finding is also supported by the distribution of the immigrants' identity: most respondents have a high sense of ethnic, and simultaneously a low sense of German, identity. But the proportion of individuals with a separated emotional identification is much larger in the case of the naming choice (more than 80 percent) than in the case of the identity choice (60 percent). The other two options – integration and assimilation – are less frequently chosen, with assimilation being the least frequent type. The order of the identification types is equal for the naming and for the identity choices, but there is more separation and less integration visible in the immigrants' naming practices than in their identity. This indicates that naming might be a 'harder' indicator of immigrants' emotional identification with the host society. As Sue and Telles have argued, naming practices 'represent behaviors which are much more concrete measures than attitudes and opinions', with 'obvious long-term consequences' (Sue and Telles, 2007: 1383, 1385). Therefore the barrier to integration or assimilation might be greater in the case of giving first names than in the case of identities.

One of the most interesting results is the gender difference in the Turkish immigrants' naming practices: girls are given first names that are common in both countries three times more often than are boys, while they are less frequently given ethnic names. This corresponds to the results of Lieberson (2000), and Sue and Telles (2007), who have reported a higher use of more traditional (ethnic) first names for boys than for girls in Mexican-American families. This gender difference in naming is not easy to interpret. One possibility is that parents want traditions to be continued primarily by their male offspring. This argument is in line with

the general finding of more traditionalism in the naming of boys, while girls' names are more influenced by actual fashions (see Lieberson, 2000; Lieberson and Bell, 1992; Rossi, 1965). Males are more likely to be the carrier of the family line (also see Sue and Telles, 2007). Another interpretation is that parents want to protect their daughters from possible discrimination in their later lives (see Sue and Telles, 2007: 1411). If parents assume that an ethnic name could potentially elicit discrimination and if parents especially want to protect their daughters, this could lead to more assimilation with regard to girls' first names. Here, a first name that is common in both cultures might be especially attractive to parents: this name can bring the desired 'protection' in the host society, while at the same time ethnic traditions can be maintained. Finally, there is the possibility that the gender difference in naming is due to different name pools for boys' and girls' names. There might just be more girls' names available that are common in the host country as well as in the country of origin. And the gender difference in naming might merely reflect this opportunity structure. With the present data, it is not possible to determine which of these reasons drive the gender difference in immigrants' naming practices. This question remains open for further research.

Because of data limitations, it was possible to analyse the influence of only a few independent variables on the immigrant parents' naming choice. Out of this limited set of explanatory variables, intermarriage has the largest impact. The presence of a German parent strongly decreases the probability of choosing a Turkish name, and especially promotes the choice of a first name that is common in both societies. This result is also in line with the finding of Sue and Telles (2007), who have found a strong effect of intermarriage on the degree of assimilation in naming. The effect of the German citizenship of a parent is different from the intermarriage effect since it favours the assimilation option over the integration option. More traditional and religious orientations in the family seem to increase the probability of choosing an ethnic name, but this finding should be viewed with caution and should be replicated with a better operationalization of this indicator. Altogether, the results point to the importance of the parents' migration biography for their naming choice. But these variables might be seen only as antecedent conditions for the 'real' causal mechanisms and therefore represent just proxy variables. It is possible that other processes, like the immigrants' cultural and social acculturation, are the truly important forces in the naming choice. Thus, future research should address in more detail other potential explanatory variables, such as the parents' social contacts, their language use and their cultural knowledge.

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Appendix

Table A1 Descriptive statistics of the independent variables (means and standard deviations)

	Mean	*SD*
Child's sex (1: girl, 0: boy)	0.49	0.50
Highest educational level of both parents (in years)	9.75	2.11
Intermarriage	0.06	0.23
At least one parent with German citizenship	0.44	0.50
At least one parent with German as mother tongue	0.10	0.30
Mother with headscarf	0.34	0.48
Years since migration at the time of child's birth (mean of both parents)	15.20	7.49
Age at arrival in Germany (mean of both parents)	13.02	7.48
N	1257	

Source: Project 'Preschool Education and Educational Careers among Migrant Children', own calculations.

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